

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 192549

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT SECTO 8171, SENT BRUSSELS THE HAGUE PARIS
BONN ROME DUBLIN COPENHAGEN LUXEMBOURD INFO SECSTATE USUN
NATO LONDON 13 AUG:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTO 08171

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE PLO ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242

1. ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS AT
APPROPRIATELY HIGH LEVEL TO MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:
--MEMBERS OF THE EC-9 WILL HAVE SEEN RECENT PRESS REPORTS
THAT USG IS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH OFFICIAL CONTACT WITH PLO
IF THAT ORGANIZATION ACCEPTS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242
AND ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. THIS WAS THE SUBJECT OF
CONDIDERSBLE DISCUSSION BY THE SECRETARY IN ALL CAPTIALS
VISITED DURING HIS JUST-CONCLUDED MIDDLE EAST TRIP. WE
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ALSO DISCUSSED THIS WITH THE BRITISH DURING SECRETARY'S STOPOVE IN
LONDON, AND WE WANT SIMILARLY TO INFORM OTHER MEMBERS
OF THE NINE OF THE BACKGROUND OF THIS DEVELOPMENT, AND
OF WHERE MATTERS NOW STAND.
--ARAB GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN PRESSING US FOR SOME TIME,
INCLUDING DURING VISITS OF MIDDLE EAST LEADERS TO
WASHINGTON OVER RECENT MONTHS, TO BEGIN OFFICIAL DIALOGUE

WITH THE PLO AND TO AGREE THAT PLO SHOULD BE INVITED TO A RECONVENED GENEVA CONFERENCE. IN RESPONSE, WE CONSISTENTLY MADE TWO POINTS:

2. QUESTION OF ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS IN GENEVA CONFERENCE IS NOT UP TO USG ALONE; UNDER ORIGINAL GROUND RULES OF CONFERENCE, ALL ORIGINAL PARTICIPANTS MUST AGREE ON EXTENDING INVITATION TO NEW PARTIES TO PARTICIPATE. &8;3, 8 43-)S ADAMANT OPPOSITION TO NEGOTIATING WITH PLO, MOST REALISTIC ALTERNATIVES WE SEE ARE EITHER INCLUSION OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES IN JORDAN DELEGATION OR A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION WHICH COULD INCLUDE ORIGINAL ARAB PARTICIPANTS PLUS PALESTINIANS AND LEBANON. THERE IS DEVELOPING CONSENSUS AMONG ARAB PARTICIPANTS FAVORING CONCEPT OF UNIFIED DELEGATION. ISREAL CONTINUES TO OPPOSE CONCEPT OF UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION.

3. USG CANNOT ENTER DIALOGUE WITH PLO WHILE LATTER REFUSED TO ACCEPT RESOLUTION 242 AND ISRAELS'S RIGHT TO EXIST.

-ARAB GOVERNMENTS HAVE CLEARLY BEEN GIVING CONSIDERATION TO THIS PROBLEM AND, DURING SECRETARY'S TRIP, THEY ALL DISCUSSED WITH US POSSIBILITY OF A FORMULA FOR PLO ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242. FORMULA PRESENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION BETWEEN ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND PLO WOULD INVOLVE EXPLICIT ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION242 INCLUDING REFERENCE TO THE RIGHT OF ALL SATES IN THE AREA TO

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EXIST IN PEACE WITH A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT "ALL STATES" INCLUDES ISRAEL. IN ADDITION, FORMULA COULD INCLUDE A RESERVATION BY THE PLO THAT RESOLUTION 242 DOES NOT DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH PALESTINIAN QUESTION, SINCE IT REFERS TO PALESTINIANS ONLY AS REFUGEES AND DOES NOT REFER TO THE NEED FOR A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND.

-- WE HAVE TOLE BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS THAT IF PLO MAKES SUCH A STATEMENT, WE ARE PREPARED IMMEDIATELY TO ENTER INTO OFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH IT. IT IS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, THAT IN DOING SO, PLO SPOKESMAN NOT IN EFFECT NEGATE SUCH STATEMENT BY ANOTHER STATEMENT -- E.G., AFFIRMING THAT PALESTINE NATIONAL CHARTER, WHICH DENIES ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, REMAINS VAID. IN OTHER WORDS, STATEMENT BY PLO TO BE ACCEPTABLE MUST CLEARLY REFLECT CHANGE IN PLO POLICY.

-- ISRAELIS ARE OPPOSED TO OUR ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH PLO EVEN IF IT MAKES AN ACCEPTABLE AND UNAMBIHIIOUS STATEMENT, BUT WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THEM THAT WE WILL ENTER OFFICIAL CONTACTS IF AN ACCEPTABLE STATEMENT IS MADE.

-- WE HAVE SEEN THE REPORTS THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS ARE CONSIDERING POSSIBILITY OF PROPOSING THAT RESOLUTION 242

BE AMENDED TO INCLUDE PALESTINIAN "RIGHTS" OR "HOMELAND"
OR "STATE." INTERALIA THERE HAS BEEN DISCUSSION OF
SUCH ACTION AMONG SOME ARAB AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS
IN NEW YORK. WE BELIEVE ANY EFFORT TO AMEND RESOLUTION
242 WOULD OPEN A PANDORA'S BOX AND WE WOULD OPPOSE SUCH AN
EFFORT AND, IF NECESSARY, VOTE AGAINST IT.
-- WE VBELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO HAVE MAXIMUM COORDINATION
AND COOPERATION ON THIS QUESTIO WITH OUR EUROPEAN
FRIENDS.
VANCE UNQUOTE. VANCE

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